

NOT YET *THE KANO CHRONICLE*: KING-LISTS WITH
AND WITHOUT NARRATIVE ELABORATION FROM
NINETEENTH-CENTURY KANO

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In an article that will appear in a forthcoming issue of *History in Africa*, I have argued, contrary to M.G. Smith and Murray Last in particular, that the document that H.R. Palmer published under the title ‘The Kano Chronicle’ (KC) was not simply the latest update of a chronicle that had, as it were, been put out in a first edition in the sixteenth or seventeenth century and periodically added to.¹ Rather it was an account of Kano history compiled for the first time during the reign of Emir of Kano Muḥammad Bello (1882-93), reflecting a Kanocentric point of view in the face of a Sokoto overlordship that was to overreach itself shortly afterwards and precipitate the Kano civil war (*basasa*). The sources for the chronicle were largely oral—court traditions, praise epithets of rulers (*kirarai*), traditions of the learned, notably those who claimed descent from the North African scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī (d. 909/1504), and apparently traditions stemming from local non-Muslim populations (*maguzawa*).

There was, however, clearly a written ‘chronological’ skeleton that supported these traditions and gave the chronicle the form it has. For while there are no absolute dates in the KC, its framework is a succession of rulers, each one numbered in order with a mention of the number of years (and/or months or days) he ruled and in most

1 My article has the title ‘A historical whodunnit: the so-called “Kano Chronicle” and its place in the historiography of Kano’. See also M.G. Smith, ‘The Kano Chronicle as history’ in B.M. Barkindo (ed.), *Studies in the History of Kano*, Ibadan 1983, 31-56; D.M. Last, ‘Historical metaphors in the intellectual history of Kano before 1800’, *History in Africa*, vii, 1980, 177.

cases the ruler's mother's name. In this paper some of those lists of rulers that prefigure the KC will be presented and discussed. It will be shown that such king lists existed well before the time of the KC and, although no pre-nineteenth century examples have come to light, it is likely that the practise of recording lists of rulers goes back to the sixteenth century. While I find no evidence of a city/state chronicle before the late nineteenth century, it is not unlikely that scholars kept notes about their own families and possibly about other events. In the nineteenth century we see attempts to combine king lists, pure and simple, with other, narrative, material, especially material concerning Islam, though the simple king list was still in vogue in the 1890s.

In addition to such proto-chronicle forms, there is the *Tayqīd al-akhbār*, an account written in 1863-4 by the Fulani *qāḍī* Muḥammad Zangi b. Šāliḥ of the history of the *jihād* in Kano and the reign of the first three Fulani emirs, which to some extent would have provided a model for a city chronicle. It is, however, a triumphalist history in which all virtue and worth are attributed to the Fulani *jihādists*, and the pre-Fulani Hausa rulers are given short shrift. Perhaps it is surprising that they are given any mention at all. In fact the learned *qāḍī* gives a king-list, or perhaps takes data from more than one king-list, and presents his readers with a roster of forty-one rulers of Kano from Bagoda to Alwalī. In the preamble to his list he mentions 'ancient chronicles' twice; in the first instance he seems clearly to mean simple king-lists, since he says they contain the names of the kings and the lengths of their reigns. The second mention is in reference to al-Maghīlī's alleged introduction of the date palm to Kano where again he refers to 'ancient chronicles', thus suggesting that material relating to al-Maghīlī had already been woven into king-lists, or perhaps that it was al-Maghīlī's descendants who were the producers of at any rate one version of the Kano king-list. One of the other lists presented here, MS Jos 53, also reflects such an interest.

This latter ms also demonstrates another point that I make in regard to the KC; that is that the chronicle was not the work of a scholar from the high tradition of learning, i.e. one of the *'ulamā'*,

but was the work of a man only marginally literate in Arabic, who thought in Hausa and incorporated material from Hausa oral sources which he often had difficulty in rendering in Arabic.² Hence he often simply left words in his text in Hausa, or if he rendered them in Arabic, essentially produced calques of Hausa phrases. In KC a typical calque is the repeated use of the Arabic verbal form *jalasa* ‘he sat’, but which is used to mean ‘he remained, stayed’ reflecting the Hausa usage *ya zauna*— which means either ‘he sat’ or ‘he stayed’. Precisely the same usage is found in MS Jos 53, where the phrase *jalasa fi mulkihi* — ‘he sat in his kingdom’ — is used consistently to mean ‘he reigned’. History, in Kano, was not the province of the ‘*ulamā*’ class.

It is this latter king-list, too, that comes closest to metamorphosing into a true chronicle. There are, in fact, three blocks of narrative: (1) regarding Sarki ‘Umaru (#14) and his deposition,³ (2) a long narrative inserted into the reign of Muḥammad Runfā (#18) about the shaykhs ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Za[gha]lyti and [Muḥammad b.] ‘Abd al-Karīm [al-Maghīlī], (3) an account of the dethroning of Alwalī (#41). There are also shorter narrative passages in reigns 28, 29, 30, 32 and 42. The chronicler was clearly out of his depth in Arabic when it came to narrative description beyond the purely formulaic. Hence, his passage inserted in the reign of Muḥammad Runfā suffers from syntactic confusion which leaves the reader at times unsure of who is the agent and who is the one acted upon. He also uses Hausa words for which there are simple Arabic equivalents, thus *ṣintalī* (ablution jug) instead of *ibrīq*, and *likkāfu* (stirrups) instead of *rikāb*, and *ḥuṣūmiyā* (minaret) instead of *mi³dhana*, or *ṣawma^ca*.

The prominence given to al-Maghīlī in both MS Jos 53 and the *Taqyīd al-akhbār* is interesting. It is clear that by the mid-nineteenth century some sort of received version of the introduction of Islam

- 2 See also Paul Lovejoy *et al.*’s paper elsewhere in this issue ‘C.L. Temple’s “Notes on the History of Kano” [1909]: a lost chronicle on political office’, in which he argues that Dan Rimi Nuhu played a leading role in the writing of KC.
- 3 Other king-lists do not mention this, but KC says he abdicated to pursue the religious life.

into Kano had gained currency and that Sarki Muḥammad Runfā had been identified as the catalyst for this. Thus in MS Jos 53 al-Maghīlī ‘came bringing Islam’ in Runfā’s reign; in MS Falke 0704, though al-Maghīlī is not mentioned, ‘Islam began in his [*sc.* Runfā’s] time’; in *Taqyīd al-akhbār* ‘Islam began in this land in his time through the coming of ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī’; and in KC ‘Abd al-Karīm (also called ‘Abd al-Raḥmān through conflation with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Zaghaytī) established Islam in Runfā’s time. Historically, it is known that al-Maghīlī did spend some time in Kano during Sarki Muḥammad Runfā’s reign, but he did not of course ‘introduce’ Islam. Kano king lists clearly show that there were Muslim rulers before Muḥammad Runfā, notably the 14th, ‘Umar, whom MS Jos 53 calls a *faqīh* while putting Sufi sentiments into his mouth! KC (in Palmer’s translation) calls him ‘a mallam earnest in prayer’⁴ and MS Paden 53 also calls him a *faqīh*. Thus, quite apart from the absurdity of attributing the ‘coming of Islam’ to a single individual, Kano sources themselves acknowledge that there were Muslim rulers before Muḥammad Runfā.

Why, then, this close association of al-Maghīlī with islamization and the insertion of his ‘story’ into king-lists? While not denying al-Maghīlī his influence at Muḥammad Runfā’s court or among local Kano scholars of the day, or the legacy of his little ‘advice to kings’ book (the so-called *Tāj al-dīn*), it must be pointed out that there were many other scholars who visited Kano or settled there—the KC mentions a number and the *Taqyīd* makes special mention of ‘Abd Allāh al-Thiqa.⁵ There was also ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Suqqayn, the Fāsī scholar who narrated *ḥadīth* before the ruler in the early sixteenth century and is said to have left behind descendants, but whom Kano tradition does not remember.⁶ It is perhaps no coincidence that though

4 H.R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs*, Lagos 1928, III, 108.

5 The grandfather of Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukūī had already taken refuge in Kano in the 1480s, a sure indication that there was already a firm Islamic presence there. See ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sa’dī, *Ta’rikh al-Sūdān*, ed. O. Houdas, Paris 1898, 37.

6 On this scholar and his sojourn in Kano see Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukūī, *Nayl al-ibtibāh bi-tatṛiz al-dībāj*, Cairo 1351/1931-2, 166-7; Muḥammad b. Ja’far

the king-lists record seventeen or eighteen rulers before Runfā, it is generally with his reign of 37 years, upon which all independent lists agree, that there starts to be a good measure of agreement among the various lists as to order of succession and reign length.⁷ Prior to his reign there is much more disagreement. This leads me to suggest that Runfā's reign really was significant in terms of the implantation of Arabic literacy and Islamic ideas, and also I believe because it marked Kano's final integration into the trans-Saharan trading networks, so that thereafter it remained in touch with the wider world of Mediterranean commerce and Islam. Al-Maghīlī would have played a role in this (and the *Taqyīd* implicitly suggests a commercial role for him), though he was one of many.

The cultural and commercial reinvigoration of Kano at this time may well have led to the establishment of a king-list tradition soon after. But this was not, it would seem, an authoritative palace tradition. Minor disagreements about reign lengths right down to the nineteenth century suggest that individual literate persons made their own lists, but that most probably the source for all the lists was ultimately oral knowledge preserved in the memories of courtiers and shared by other notables of Kano. In other words, a written tradition did not come to monopolize the recording process. No single list ever became *the* king-list, until, perhaps we come to that chronicle form of the late nineteenth century which comes to be called *the Kano Chronicle*.

We return now to the question as to why the Maghīlī story became part of some king-lists. One obvious answer would be that these lists emanate from members of that family. This may be so, but such an answer raises more questions, the answers to which but we can only speculate upon at present. The evidence of the *Taqyīd* shows that by the mid-nineteenth century the descendants of al-Maghīlī were claiming sharifian status, though no sharifian claim is made on al-Maghīlī's behalf in any of the North African or Timbuktu

al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, Fez 1316/1898-9, II, 159-62; °Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, ed. Iḥṣān °Abbās, Beirut 1982-6, II, 987.

7 There is also general agreement about the length of reign of the 14th sarki, °Umar, who seems to have been a favourite of the mallams.

sources (or even Sokoto sources), and as far as we know al-Maghīlī did not make it himself. In the mid-nineteenth century the head of this family was called Sidi Fari (Hausa: ‘white lord’), evidently in recollection of one of al-Maghīlī’s sons whom the same source and others tell us of. Again, no breath of this is to be found in earlier Arabic sources. At some point—and sources currently available to me have been unable to pinpoint exactly when—‘Sidi Fari’ becomes a Kano title held in this ‘sharifian’ family, and its holder a member of the emir’s council.

A hypothesis may be suggested, to wit that in the nineteenth century those claiming descent from al-Maghīlī sought favour with the new Fulani rulers of Kano and wrote themselves into one strand of the king-list tradition, incorporating their family myths. As the descendants of Jum‘a, the Sullebawa Fulani leader, settled down to their new status as rulers in Kano and became increasingly Hausacized and, indeed, Kano-cized, they found it useful to play up the connection with the descendants of al-Maghīlī since it established a link between Kano *sarauta* (kingship) which they had appropriated and a scholar whom the *jihād* leaders had made emblematic of their struggle. The Sidi Fari’s claim to sharifian status would only enhance the image of a Kano ruler who patronized him. Eventually the link was formalised by the Sidi Fari being given a seat on the emir’s council. This cleared the way for much twentieth-century mythmaking about al-Maghīlī which has been perceptively described by Priscilla Starratt, right down to a recent claim that he ‘wrote a constitution’ for Kano.⁸

The King-Lists

Four king-lists are presented below in the order in which it would appear they were written, followed by the relevant portion of the *Taqyīd*. The latter is included principally for what it has to say about al-Maghīlī. Because the source of its king-list is unknown and it

8 A claim made by Maitama Sule in a film interview included in Basil Davidson’s television series, ‘Africa’. See also Priscilla E. Starratt, ‘Oral History in Muslim Africa: al-Maghīlī Legends in Kano’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan 1993.

may have been edited by the author of the *Taqyīd*, its Arabic text is not included. The four independent king-lists are:

(1) MS Falke 0704, a xerox copy of a manuscript forming part of the Umar Falke Collection in the Melville J. Herskovits Library of Africana, Northwestern University. It formally ends with Alwalī, the last of the Hausa sultans and was therefore probably written down early in the Fulani period, probably before 1819. There is a note on the first page adding names of three Fulani rulers—Jum[°]a, the Sullebawa leader who is elsewhere never officially recognised as a ruler, Sulaymān and [Ibrāhīm] Dabo. This note is probably in another hand and was added after the main list had been drawn up.

(2) MS Jos 47, a manuscript from the Nigerian National Museum, Jos. It goes down to Ibrāhīm Dabo, and thus we may assume that it was written during the reign of his successor, °Uthmān, i.e. between 1846 and 1855.

(3) MS Jos 53, the ‘proto-chronicle’ ending with °Uthmān, son of Ibrāhīm Dabo, and thus probably written during the reign of his successor, °Abd Allāh, between 1855 and 1882.

(4) MS Paden 399, a manuscript preserved in the Paden Collection of the Melville J. Herskovits Library of Africana, Northwestern University. It ends with Muḥammad Tukur who ruled between December 1893 and March 1895. Its date of composition may therefore be presumed to be during the reign of °Alī, son of °Abd Allāh, 1894-1903. The actual copy, however, was made later, as a marginal note gives a date of Rabī[°] I 1334/7 January-5 February 1916.

Arabic texts and translations

In the Arabic texts that follow, line breaks have been indicated by a back slash and page numbers (not folio numbers, except in MS Jos 53) by a double back slash with a number in between. In MSS Falke 0704 and Paden 399 where the traditional triangle of large dots is used in the ms to indicate the end of an entry for a ruler, it has been replaced by the sign *.

MS Falke 0704

This xeroxed copy of a manuscript of unknown provenance, consists of six numbered pages of 10.5 x 19 cm. Page one contains six lines in Hausa (and some other jottings) followed by five lines in Arabic. The latter give the names of the first three Fulani rulers of Kano, or to be more precise those whom the author considered to be the first three. The manuscript is vocalized throughout and the vocalization of names is reflected in their spelling in the English translation. There is some use of the *imāla* in the Arabic text, indicated medially by *yā'* or the *nabra* with a dagger *alif* above and a dot below (ي, e.g. rulers 14 and 33), or finally by *alif maqṣūra* with a dot just before and with a dagger *alif* above it (ي, e.g. rulers 21 and 35). The rulers are not numbered except for the first (*awwaluhum*), but for convenience sequential numbers have been added between square brackets [] in the translation.

/ ٢ / فائدة واما وجد بلد كنو اولهم / بغودا اسم امه قونس سبع
 وسبعين / سنة في بلد * ثم وروث ابن ساخو ثلاثين / سنة في بلد *
 ثم نوت دغوت امهما / منساد احدى سنة في بلدهما * ثم /
 غجماس امه تونس ستين سنة في بلد / قيل اربعين سنة * ثم تتر
 امه الديس / سنة في بلد * ثم ابن بغودا اسم امه / منتارس اثنان
 سنة في بلد * ثم اخيه / غوغوا اسم امه منساد خمس / وخمسون
 {سنة} في بلد * ثم ابنه طارك / اسم امه ينكما ستين سنة في /
 بلد * ثم ابن عونك ثمانية سنة / في بلد * ثم ابنه رندا اسم امه /

سبب تسع وثلاثين سنة في بلد / ٣ / ثم ابنه زمنغاوا اسم امه كمي
تسع / سنة في بلد * ثم ابنه ياج اسم امه / مغترك عشرين سنة في
البلد * ثم ابنه بقن اسم امه كمنتك خمسين سنة / في البلد * ثم
عمه محمد كنجيج / اسم امه ياكوا اثنا وعشرين سنة في / البلد *
ثم ابنه عمر غاري اسم امه / ياتار اثنا عشر سنة في البلد * ثم اخيه
داود اسم امه مندون سبعة عشر / في بلد * ثم اخيه عبد الله اباج
اسم / امه تكد خمس عشر سنة في بلد * ثم اخيه / يعقف اسم
امه تسافى / عشر سنة في البلد * هذا سلاطين كفار () لان
سنتهم في بلد كنوا اربع مائة / وتسع وخمسون سنة في الداري على
/ الكفر / والشرك / والافساد. صح بيان¹⁰ * ثم محمد رنفا بدأ
إسلام في / زمانه رحمه الله اسم امه فاطمة / سبع وثلاثين سنة
وشهر واربع / ٤ / وعشرون يوما * ثم ابنه عبد الله / اسم امه حوى
عشر سنة في البلد * ثم / ابنه محمد كسوكى رحمه الله اسم / امه
لاميس ثمانية وخمسون سنة / في البلد * ثم يعقوف اسم امه /
امينة غراري اربعين يوما في بلد * ثم / اخيه ابو بكر كد اسم امه

في الهامش ، وما بين القوسين غير مقروء و يظهر انه ارقام. 10

اعوك / سبع سنة في بلد * ثم اخيه ششري' / اسم امه دياسوا سنة
 في بلد * / ثم ابنه زاك اسم امه افس ثلاثين / وسبع سنة في بلد *
 ثم ابنه محمد خمس سنة في بلد * ثم الولي كتنبي / اسم امه دادو
 سبع وعشرين / سنة في بلد * وقيل سنة¹¹ وعشرون * / ثم الحج سنة
 في بلد * ثم شكروا / اسم امه دوس سنة وثمانية / ٥ / اشهر * ثم
 محمد ككنا ثمانية سنة / في البلد * ثم ابنه باوا عشر سنة وقيل / سنة
 احدى عشر في بلد * ثم دادي اسم / امه يغري خمس وثلاثين سنة في
 بلد * / ثم شاريفا اسم امه مريم ثلاثين سنة / وقيل تسع وعشرون سنة
 في بلد * ثم ابنه / محمد كنفاري اسم امه دوك ثلاث / عشر سنة في
 الدار * ثم ابنه كوبي' / اسم امه زينب تسع سنة وتسعة / اشهر {في
 بلد}¹² * ثم ياج خمسة عشر سنة / وعشرة اشهر في البلد * ثم ابنه
 زاكي تسع سنة في البلد / ثم اخوه دودخمس سنة في البلد * ثم
 اخيه الولي ثمانية وعشرون {سنة}¹³ في البلد و ()¹⁴ / واثنان في

11 كذا في الاصل ولعله يقصد : ستة .

12 في الهامش .

13 في الهامش .

14 غير مقروء .

سفر ثم قتله * تمت { () }¹⁵ سنتهم ثلاثة مائة / وقمر (؟) واحد
واثنان سنة / وثمانين سنة / في الداري على / الاسلام مخلط /
بشرك * لان سنتهم / كلهم ثمانية / مائة وقمر وواحد / سنة في
الداري¹⁶

Translation

Fā'ida: As for [those who] found [rule in] the town¹⁷ of Kano:

- [1] The first of them was Baghawdā. The name of his mother was Qawnas. 77 years in their town.
- [2] Warwatha son of Sākhu. 30 years in the town.
- [3] Nawata da Ghawata. Their mother was Minsāda. 1 year in the town.
- [4] Ghijimāsu. His mother was Tūnas. 60 years in the town, and it is said 40.
- [5] Tartari. His mother was Aldaysa (?). 1 year in the town.
- [6] Ibn Baghawdā. His mother's name was Mantāras. 2 years in the town.
- [7] His brother Ghūghuwā. His mother's name was Minsāda. 55 years in the town.
- [8] His son, Ṭārik. His mother's name was Yankumā. 60 years in the town.
- [9] The son of °Awnāka.¹⁸ 8 years in the town.
- [10.] His son Randā. His mother was Sabda. 39 years in the town.
- [11] His son Zamnaghāwā. His mother's name was Kumiya. 9 years in the town.
- [12] His son Yāji. His mother's name was Maghanarku. 20 years

15 غير مقروء .

16 في الهامش .

17 *balad*—perhaps 'city' or 'land'.

18 According to other lists his personal name was Shēkaraw.

in the town.

- [13] His son Buqanu. His mother was Kumantaka. 50 years in the town.
- [14] His paternal uncle Muḥammad Kanajēji. His mother's name was Yakūwā. 22 years in the town.
- [15] His son °Umar Ghārī. His mother's name was Yātāra. 12 years in the town.
- [16] His brother Dāwūd. His mother's name was Mandūna. 17 years in the town.
- [17] Then his brother °Abd Allāh Abāji. His mother's name was Takadu. 15 years in the town.
- [18] His brother Ya°quf. His mother's name was Tasāfē. 10 years in the town.
- These are the unbelieving sultans. [In marg.] Their years in the town of Kano were 459 in the abode (*al-dārī*). They lived in unbelief, polytheism and wickedness. []¹⁹
- [19] Muḥammad Runfā. Islam began in his time—may God have mercy on him. His mother's name was Fāṭima. 37 years and one month and twenty-four days.
- [20] His son °Abd Allāh. His mother's name was Ḥawā. 10 years in the town.
- [21] His son Muḥammad Kisūkē—may God have mercy on him. His mother's name was Lāmīs. 58 years in the town.
- [22] Ya°qūfa. His mother's name was Amīna Gharārī. Forty days in the town.
- [23] His brother Abū Bakr Kada. His mother's name was Ūkin(?). 7 years in the town.
- [24] His brother Shasherē. His mother's name was Dayāsu. 1 year in the town.
- [25] His son Zāki. His mother's name was (?)Afsa. 37 years in the town.
- [26] His son Muḥammad. 5 years in the town.
- [27] Alwalī Kutunbī. His mother's name was Dādū. 27 years in the town. And it is said, 26.
- [28] Al-Ḥājj. 1 year in the town.

19 Two words, probably to be read as: *ṣaḥḥ bayān*—‘a true exposition’. In fact, the number of years, if one adds up the individual reigns is 488, or if Ghijimāsu is only allotted 40, then 468 years.

- [29] Shakaraw. His mother's name was Dūsa. 1 year and eight months.
- [30] Muḥammad Kukunā. 8 years in the town.
- [31] His son Bāwā. 10 years—and it is said 11—in the town.
- [32] Dādī. His mother's name was Yaghrī. 35 years in the town.
- [33] Shārēfā. His mother's name was Maryam. 30 years —and it is said 29—in the town.
- [34] His son Muḥammad Kunfāri. His mother was Dūkin. 13 years in the abode (*dār*).
- [35] His son Kūbē. His mother's name was Zaynab. 9 years and nine months {in the town}.²⁰
- [36] Yāji. 15 years and ten months in the town.
- [37] His son Zākī. 9 years in the town.
- [38] His brother Dawdu. 5 years in the town.
- [39] His brother Alwalī. 28 {years}²¹ in the town, then 2 on trek. Then [t]he[y] killed him. Ended.

{Their years were 300 and one moon (?) and two years and 80 years in the abode following Islam mixed with polytheism. There total number of years was 800 and one moon (?) in the abode}.²²

[On the first folio, after six lines in Hausa, is the following]:

مَالاً جَمُّ الْاَوَّلِ جَمْعَةُ الْحَلَّةِ (؟) ثَلَاثَةَ سِنَةٍ / فِي مَلِكٍ وَالثَّانِي سَلِيمِن

اِثْنَانِ عَشْرَةَ {سِنَةٍ}٢٣ / وَسَبْعَ الشَّهْرِ وَالثَّلَاثِ دَابَا / خَمْسَ وَعِشْرِينَ

{سِنَةٍ}٢٤ وَخَمْسَ اشْهَرِ

20 Added in the margin.

21 Added in the margin.

22 Written vertically in the margin and at the bottom of the page. In fact, the total number of regnal years from Muḥammad Runfā to Alwalī is 349 or 350, making the overall total from Baghawdā to Alwalī 817 or 818 years, six months and four days.

23 كلمة « سنة » اضيفت بعد النسخ .

24 كلمة « سنة » اضيفت بعد النسخ .

Mālan Jamu, the first was Jam° at al-Hulla (?)²⁵ 3 years in the kingdom, and the second Sulaymān, 12 (years)²⁶ and nine months and the third was Dābū 25 (years)²⁷ and five months.

MS Jos 47

The description given on the University of Ibadan microfilm copy of this item is as follows: ‘Eleven folios, 9 ins x 6^{1/2} ins. Fine large *Jihadi* script, six to seven lines per page, rubricated. Three moons watermark. From the collection of Sir Richmond Palmer’. It is fully vocalized with use of *imāla* in the names of rulers 8, 25 and 30. The spelling of proper names in the English translation reflects this vocalization. Rulers are numbered in sequence.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم / صلى الله على من لا نبي بعده / اصل
 كنو وتاريخ / سلاطينها اولهم / بغود امه كونس / ملكها سبع
 وسبعين / ٢ / سنة الثاني وروث / امه اساج ملكها / ثلاثين سنة الثا
 / لث نوت غوت امه / منساد ملكها / سنة الرابع / غجماس امه
 يانس / ٣ / ملكها اربعين / سنة الخامس / طارك امه / يكنا ملكها
 ستين / سنة السادس بو / غج امه منتارس / ملكها سنتين / ٤ /
 السابع غوغو / امه منساد ملكها / خمسا وخمسين / سنة الثامن /

25 Or, perhaps, al-Julla. This would appear to be a reference to the Sullebawa leader Jum°a referred to by Gowers as ‘Mallam Jemo, the most prominent leader in the “Jihad”’, see W.F. Gowers, *Gazeteer of Kano Province*, London 1921, 12. He names him as the uncle of Sultan Ibrāhīm Dabo, but Temple’s ‘Notes’ mention him as a brother of Dabo. He is not normally reckoned as a ruler himself.

26 Added later.

27 Added later.

شي كرو امه / اوناك ملكها / سبعا وثلاثين / ٥ / سنة التاسع رد امه
 سلمة / ملكها تسعا / وثلاثين سنة / العاشر زمنغاو / امه كنيا تسع
 سنة / الحادي عشر ياج / ٦ / امه مغنرك / عشرين سنة الثاني / عشر
 بغي امه / كمنرك خمس / سنة ثالث عشر / كنجي' ج امه / ياكو
 اثني عشر / ٧ / سنة الرابع / عشر عمر امه / تار اثني عشر / سنة
 الخامس / عشر داوود امه / دوني سبع عشر / سنة السادس عشر /
 ٨ / عبد الله امه تغد خمس / وعشرين سنة السا / بع عشر امد امه
 كاني ستة / اشهر الثامن عشر يعقوب / امه تصافي / ٩ / عشر سنة
 التاسع / عشر محمد رنفا / امه فاطمة ملكها سبع وثلا / ثين سنة
 الموفي / عشرون عبد الله / امه اوو اثني عشر / ١٠ / سنة حادي
 وعشرون / محمد كيسوكي / امه لاس ثمان / واربعين سنة /
 الثاني وعشرون يعقوب امه تونس / خمسة سنة وعشرة / ١١ / اشهر
 الثالث وعشرون / داوود اباسم امه / ءامنة اربعين يوما / الرابع
 وعشرون / ابو بكر امه كين / سبع سنة الخامس / وعشرون محمد
 ششري' / ١٢ / امه حفصة اربع / اشهر وعشرين يوما / السادس
 وعشرون / محمد زاك امه / حفصة ثمان وثلا / ثين سنة السابع /

وعشرون محمد نزاك / ١٣ / امه كرس خمس / سنة الثامن /
 وعشرون محمد الول الملقب / بكتنب امه داد ست / وعشرين سنة
 / التاسع وعشرون / ١٤ / الحج امه ناسكس / ستة اشهر وعشرين /
 يوما الموفي ثلا / ثون محمد شبي' كرو / امه ناورب بنت / زاري سنة
 وسبع / اشهر الحادي وثلا / ١٥ / ثون سيالك امه / فاطمة ست /
 وستين يوما / الثاني وثلاثون / محمد ككن امه / غور ثماني سنة
 / وشهر وسبع وعشرين / ١٦ / يوما الثاني وثلا / ثون باو امه لامس
 / اثني عشر سنة / واحدی وعشرين / يوما الرابع / وثلاثون داد امه
 / ايغر ثلاث وثلا / ١٧ / ثين سنة وست اشهر / وسبعا وعشرين يوما
 الخامس وثلاثون / محمد ابنه الملقب / بشاريف امه / مريم ملكها /
 تسعا وعشرين سنة / ١٨ / وخمس اشهر / محمد قم باري / امه
 دوک ثلاث / وعشر سنة قوايي / امه زينب تسع / سنة وعشر اشهر
 محمد ياج امه / ١٩ / مريم ستة عشر / ببازاك امه يردورو / له ثمانية
 سنة / وقيل المشهور تسع / سنة داوود لامه مداك بوياء وعليه /
 خمس سنة وعشر يوما / ٢٠ / كاملا محمد الولي / لامه بوياء له سبع
 / وعشرين سنة سليمان / ثلاث عشر سنة داب / ابن محمود

ملکھا سبع / وغشیرین سنۃ وثلا / ث اشھر وتسع یوما / من سفر²⁸
 * کمل انتھی

Translation

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. May God bless him after whom there is no prophet. The origin of Kano and the chronicle of its sultans.

1. Bughawda. His mother was Kawnasa. He ruled it for 77 years.
2. Warwathi. His mother was Asāji. He ruled it for 30 years.
3. Nawata Ghawata. His mother was Munsāda. He ruled it for 1 year.
4. Ghajimāsu. His mother was Yānasa. He ruled it for 40 years.
5. Ṭāriki. His mother was Yaknā. He ruled it for 60 years.
6. Būghaji. His mother was Muntāras. He ruled it for 2 years.
7. Ghūghū. His mother was Munsāda. He ruled it for 55 years.
8. Shē Karaw. His mother was Awnāka. He ruled it for 37 years.
9. Rada. His mother was Salma. He ruled it for 39 years.
10. Zamnaghāwa. His mother was Kanyā. 9 years.
11. Yāji. His mother was Maghanarku. 20 years.
12. Baghayī. His mother was Kamnarku. 5 years.
13. Kanajē Ji. His mother was Yākū. 12 years.
14. °Umar. His mother was Tāra. 12 years.
15. Dāwūdu. His mother was Dūniya. 17 years.
16. °Abd Allāh. His mother was Taghudu. 25 years.
17. Umadi. His mother was Kānyā. Six months.
18. Ya°qūbu. His mother was Taṣāfī. 10 years.
19. Muḥammad Runfā. His mother was Fāṭima. He ruled it for 37 years.
20. °Abd Allāh. His mother was Awuwa. 12 years.
21. Muḥammad Kīsūkī. His mother was Lāmis. 48 years.
22. Ya°qūbu. His mother was Tūnus. 5 years and ten months.

23. Dāwūdu Abāsama. His mother was Āmina. Forty days.
24. Abū Bakar. His mother was Kuyina. 7 years.
25. Muḥammad Shasharē. His mother was Ḥafṣa. Four months and twenty days.
26. Muḥammad Zāki. His mother was Ḥafṣa. 38 years.
27. Muḥammad Nazāki. His mother was Kursu. 5 years.
28. Muḥammad Alwali, nicknamed Kutunbi. His mother was Dādu. 26 years.
29. Alḥaji. His mother was Nāsakas. Six months and twenty days.
30. Muḥammad Shē Karaw. His mother was Nāwarabu daughter of Zāriya. 1 year and seven months.
31. Suyāki. His mother was Fāṭima. Sixty-six days.
32. Muḥammad Kukuna. His mother was Ghūru. 8 years and one month and twenty-seven days.
33. Bāwa.²⁹ His mother was Lāmis. 12 years and twenty-one days.
34. Dādi. His mother was Iyaghari. 33 years and six months and twenty-seven days.
35. Muḥammad, his son, nicknamed Shārifa. His mother was Maryamu. He ruled it for 29 years and five months.
- [36] Muḥammad Qum Bārī. His mother was Dūkī. 13 years.
- [37] Quwābī. His mother was Zaynabu. 9 years and ten months.
- [38] Muḥammad Yāji. His mother was Maryamu. 16.
- [39] Babāzāki. His mother was Y.r.dūrū. He had 8 years, and it is said [that] what is generally accepted (*al-mashhūr*) is 9 years.
- [40] Dāwūdu, of his mother (*li-ummihi*) Madāki Būyā. And [he was] upon it 5 years and ten days altogether (*kāmīlan*).
- [41] Muḥammad al-Walī, of his mother Būyā. He had 27 years.
- [42] Sulaymān. 13 years.
- [43] Dābu son of Maḥmūd. He ruled it 27 years and three months and nine days of Ṣafar.
- Completed. Finished.

29 He is misnumbered in the text as 32, like his predecessor.

MS Jos 53

This is a composite manuscript with folio numbers added in European numerals. The king list/chronicle of Kano begins on f. 8v, line 5, following an Arabic version of the Hausa legend of the founding of the 'Hausa Seven'. It is written in a neat *ajami* hand, fully vocalized, of 12 lines per page (except for f. 8v which is 13 lines), with catch-words at the bottom left of the writing area of the verso of each folio, written almost vertically. The ms was part of H.R. Palmer's papers and ff. 1-2 contain some marginal words in Palmer's hand. A note on the cover-page of the University of Ibadan microfilm of the work reads: 'Manuscript in eight folded sheets, 9 ins by 13 1/2 ins, equivalent to 16 folios 9 ins x 6 3/4 ins. New Ajami script, 10 lines per page,³⁰ black ink and rubricated. Watermarks: "three moons" and "Andrea Galvani Pordenone"'. From the collection of Sir Richmond Palmer'. Rulers are not numbered in the ms. For convenience numbering has been added in the English translation in square brackets. The manuscript is fully vocalized, including use of the *imāla* in names. The spelling of proper names in the English translation reflects this vocalization.

[٨ب] ثم / بعد ذلك اصل كنوا بغودا / امه قونس جلس سبع
 وسبعين / سنة في ملكه ثم ورثه امه / اساجي جلست ثلاثين سنة ثم
 / نوت دغاوة توامان امهما / منساكى جلسوا في ملكهما سنة
 واحدة ثم غجن ماسوا / امه يختص جلس اربعين سنة / في ملكه ثم
 طاركي امه / ٩٩ / ينكما جلس في ملكه ستين / سنة ثم بغج امه
 منتارس جلس / في ملكه سنتين ثم غوغوا امه منساد جلس في ملكه
 / خمس وخمسون سنة ثم شبكروا / امه اوناك جلس في ملكه /

30 In fact, ff. 1-7 have 10-12 lines per page, most being of 11 lines.

سبع سنين ثم ردا امه السبت / كمي ميا جلس في ملكه سبع / سنين
ثم زمنغاوا امه كو / مييدك جلس في ملكه سبع / سنين ثم ياج امه
كمنتكا / جلس في ملكه عشرين سنة / ٩ب / ثم بوغو امه كوميني'
يذك / جلس في ملكه خمس سنين ثم / كنجب'ج امه ياكو جلس في
/ ملكه اثنا وعشرون سنة ثم / الفقيه عمر امه ياتاري' جلس / في
ملكه اثنا عشر سنة واخرجه / اقياله اولهم سركن ميغ والثاني /
سركن غيا والثالث غلاديم / والرابع مادواكي باب ودخل في / قرية
دورا ودعا عليهم بحرمة / واحد قطبك واربعة اوتادك / وسبعة
اخيارك واربعين بدلائك / ١٠أ / و سبعون نجبائك وثلاثمأة /
نقبائك اذ اخرجوه لا يردهم / الله في ملكهم ابا بسبب / دعائه
ثم داوود امه مندرا / جلس في ملكه سبعا وعشرين / سنة ثم عبد
الله امه تغد / جلس في ملكه خمسا وعشرين / سنة ثم يعقوب امه
تصافي' / جلس في ملكه عشرين سنة / وستين ثم محمد رنفا في
زمانه / جاء عبد الكريم وزير النبي صلى / الله عليه وسلم بالاسلام
في شهر / ١٠ب / رجب يوم الاثنين عشرين منه / يوم الخميس او
الجمعة السبت / الاحد الاثنين جاء عبد الرحمن ابن / زيتي في قرية

كنوا وصلى مع / جنسه اثنان وسبعون اولهم في / ولده مندوني ثم
مررغبي ثم شبلشي' وذلك الزمان الذي اعين / دين الاسلام * واعطا
عبد الكريم / الف دينار وجعله تحت حصوميا / في المسجد واعطا
عبد الرحمن / الف دينار وورثه من جنسه / ولده وجلس في قرية
كنوا / ١١١ / ومات ودفنه في باب دار تحت / كوك في مدائي فسبب
هذا / محمد رنفا اشترى المكان بمائة / دينار ويدفن فيه حتى الان /
اما عبد الكريم فاولاده ثلاثة / اولهم محمد حنتارى والثاني / محمد
ابن غبمن دودوا والثالث / عيسى سيد فري وورث عبد / الكريم
على اولاده ثلاثة / اولهم حنتارى سفينة وخبر / النبي في يوم ولده
والثاني / صنتلي سركي' دلکافوا / ١١١ب / والثالث ورقة النبوة
وعمامة / رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم / وتسيح الحصا ثلاثا
وثلاثون / والثالث غبمن دودوا ورثه / سيف النبي و القرءان النبي
اربعة / سفرا والثالث سيدي فري ورث / قلنسوة النبي والعصا /
وميزان الارض فاذا جاء يوم / المولد جاء محمد رنفا في بيت / سيد
فري وقراه ورقة النبيء في / جنسه بين يدي سلطان المسلمين / اما
بعد جاء السلطان الى مدح / ١١٢ / عند مدح رسول الله صلى الله /

عليه وسلم يمدح بين يديه / حتى الان ثم خرج عبد الكريم / وترك اولاده ثلاثا حنتارى احمد غمن دودوا عيسى سيد فري ومشى الى الشام حتى / اختتم ارسال النبيء ومات فى / شام اما محمد رنفا فامه فاما جلس في ملكه سبعا / وثلاثين سنة ثم عبد الله امه اوا جلس في ملكه اثني عشر / سنة ثم محمد كي سوكى / ١٢ب / امه لاميس تمجيكن جلس في / ملكه ثمان وخمسين سنة ثم / يعقوب امه تونس تكياس / جلس في ملكه اربعة اشهر / وعشرين يوما ثم داوود با اسم / امه امينة جلس في ملكه / اربعين يوما ثم ابو بكر اكد / امه اواتباري جلس في ملكه / سبع سنين ثم محمد شبشبي' امه / عائشة جلس في ملكه اربعة / اشهر وعشرين يوما ثم محمد / ببا زاك امه حفصة جلس / ١٣أ / في ملكه ثمانية وثلاثون سنة / ثم محمد امه كرسوا جلس في ملكه خمس سنين ثم الولي اکتبي امه اوتدنبوتالى / جلس في ملكه ست عشر سنة / ثم الحج امه ناسكس جلس / في ملكه عشر سنة و شهرا / وعشرين يوما واخرج ودخل / في قرية زك زك ثم شبكروا / امه ناربوا بنت زاري جلس / في ملكه سنة واحدة وسبعة / اشهر واخرج ودخل في قرية / ١٣ب / زاريا ثم

سويباكي امه فاطمة / جلس في ملكه سنة واحدة / وسبعة اشهر
واخرج ودخل / في قرية زاريا ثم سويباكي / امه فاطمة جلس في
ملكه ست سنين ويوما ثم محمد / ككنا امه رحمة جلس في /
ملكه سبع سنة وعشرين يوما / واخرج ودخل في قرية زك زك /
وادرك وبات اربعا ودخل / في بيته ثم باو امه لاميس / جلس في
ملكه احدى عشر سنة / ١٤ / وعشرين يوما ثم محمد دادن / الله
امه يابن غري جلس في / ملكه ثلاثين سنة وثمانية / اشهر وعشرين
يوما ثم / محمد شارييف امه مريم / جلس في ملكه ثلاثين سنة / ثم
محمد كنبار امه دوكي / جلس في ملكه ثلاث سنة / ثم كوابي امه
زينب جلس / في ملكه تسع سنة وتسعة / اشهر ثم ياج امه مريم /
جلس في ملكه خمس عشر / ١٤ ب / سنة واحدة عشر شهرا ثم ببا
/ زاكي امه زينب امه بنت دون / جلس في ملكه ثمان سنة /
واحدى عشر شهرا ثم دوود / ابوسم امه باويا جلس / في ملكه
خمس سنين ثم ورثه / الولي امهما اي داوود والولي امهما واحدة ما
بين محمد رنفا / الى الولي ثلاث مائة واربعين / سنة وثمانية سنة
وايضا / الولي شقيق داوود جلس في / ملكه سبع وعشرون سنة /

١١٥ / واخرجه جيش الفلاتين ومشى / الى بلد اخوانه سلطان رنوا /
ويجمع سلاطين غزمانه³¹ يكن اعوانه واخرج من هذا / البلد ومشى
الى زك زك / وجلس سنة واحدة وسبعة / اشهر ورجع الى طلب داره
/ ويقتلونه الفلاتين في بلد / الكفار الذي تسماه برنبرن {عجم}³² في
شهر ذو القعدة ستة عشر / منه يوم الخميس والله اعلم / بما ياتي بعد
ذلك من مثل / ١٥ب / هذا * ايضا سليمان الفلاتي / امه داد جلس
في ملكه اثنا / عشر سنة وتسعة اشهر / وسبع وعشرين يوما في
شوال / وسمع³³ خبر يوم الجمعة داب / امه حليلة جلس في ملكه /
ست وعشرين سنة واربعين / يوما وثلاث اياما عثمان بن / داب امه
شكرها جلس في ملكه / عشر سنة تمت .

Translation

- [1] The origin of Kano is Baghawdā; his mother was Qawnassu. He sat in his kingdom (*jalasa fī mulkihi*) 77 years.
- [2] His mother Asājē inherited [power from] him. She sat for 30 years.
- [3] Then Nawta da Ghāwata, two twins. Their mother was Mun(a)sākē. They sat in their kingdom 1 year.
- [4] Then Ghajimmāsū. His mother was Yakhtaṣṣu. He sat in his

31 هكذا في الاصل ولعل المقصود « زمانه » .

32 زيادة في الهامش .

33 هناك نقطة تحت الميم ويظهر انها خطأ من الناسخ .

- kingdom for 40 years.
- [5] Then Ṭārikī. His mother /f. 9r/ was Yankumā. He sat in his kingdom for 60 years.
- [6] Then Baghiji. His mother was Muntāras. He sat in his kingdom for 2 years.
- [7] Then Ghūghū. His mother was Munsāda. He sat in his kingdom for 55 years.
- [8] Then Shēkaraw. His mother was Awnāka. He sat in his kingdom for 7 years.
- [9] Then Radā. His mother was al-Sabti Kumay Mayā. He sat in his kingdom for 7 years.
- [10] Then Zammaghāwā. His mother was Kūmīyadhaka.³⁴ He sat in his kingdom for 7 years.
- [11] Then Yāji. His mother was Kumantakā. He sat in his kingdom for 20 years /f. 9v/.
- [12] Then Būghawa. His mother was Kūmīnē Yadhaka.³⁵ He sat in his kingdom for 5 years.
- [13] Then Kanajēji. His mother was Yākuwa. He sat in his kingdom for 22 years.
- [14] Then the *faqīh* °Umaru. His mother was Yātārē. He sat in his kingdom for 12 years. Then his chiefs (*aqyāl*) removed him. The first of them was Sarkin Mīgha, and the second Sarkin Ghayā and the third Ghalādīma and the fourth Mādawākī Bāba. He entered the town of Daura and invoked God against them, [calling] upon the sanctity of your one *quṭb* and your four *awtād* and your seven *akhyār* and your forty *budalā*³ /10r/ and your seventy *nujabā*³ and your three hundred *nuqabā*³⁶ [His prayer was] that since they had deposed him, may God never restore them to their office, because of his imprecation.
- [15] Then Dāwūda. His mother was Mandarā. He sat in his kingdom for 27 years.
- [16] Then °Abd Allāh. His mother was Taghida. He sat in his kingdom 25 years.
- [17] Then Ya°qūba. His mother was Taṣāfē. He sat in his kingdom

34 Or Kūmiy Yaya Dhaka or Kūmiya Ya-Dhaka

35 This would appear to be the same name as the mother of ruler no. 10.

36 These are various ranks in the hierarchy of 'Friends of God' (*awliyā*³).

for 22 years.

[18] Then Muḥammad Runfā. In his time °Abd al-Karīm,³⁷ the *wazīr* of the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him peace—came bringing Islam in the month /f. 10v/ of Rajab, on a Monday, the twentieth of it. On Thursday, or Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zaytī³⁸ came to the town of Kano and prayed with seventy-two of his people (*ma^ca jinsihi*).³⁹ The first of them was in [of ?] his sons Mandawanī, then Mararraghē, then Shēshē. That was the time when the religion of Islam was aided. And he [*sc.* Muḥammad Runfā] gave °Abd al-Karīm 1,000 dīnārs. He put them under the minaret (*huṣūmiyā*) in the mosque. He gave °Abd al-Raḥmān 1,000 dīnārs and his son from among his kin (*min jinsihi*) inherited it. He sat in the town of Kano /f. 11r/ and died [there] and he buried him⁴⁰ at the door of [his] house (*fī bāb dārin*) underneath a baobab (*kūka*) in Madacī (Ar.: *madathī*). Because of this Muḥammad Runfā purchased the place for 100 dīnārs. He (*sc.* °Abd al-Raḥmān) is buried in it and [remains there] until the present time. As for °Abd al-Karīm, his sons were three. The first of them was Muḥammad Ḥantārī, and the second Aḥmad son of Ghēmin Dūdū, and the third was °Isā Sidi Farī. °Abd al-Karīm bequeathed [things] to his three sons: the first of them, Ḥantārī, a *saḥīna*⁴¹ and the account (*khbar*) of the Prophet's birthday;⁴² to the second a metal [ablution] jug

- 37 I.e. [Muḥammad b.] °Abd al-Karīm [al-Maghīlī] who visited Kano in the early 1490s. He is often known simply as °Abd al-Karīm in Hausaland.
- 38 A Mande Dyula teacher and preacher. See M.A. al-Hajj, 'A seventeenth century chronicle on the origins and missionary activity of the Wangarawa', *Kano Studies*, i/4, 1968, 7-42. The name 'Zaytī' is given there as 'Zaghaytī' and is perhaps to be pronounced 'Diakhite'.
- 39 The above is a literal translation. What it probably means is that a total of seventy-two persons of °Abd al-Raḥmān's clan accompanied him and offered prayer with him on his arrival in Kano.
- 40 Ar.: *wa-dafanahu*, but it probably means 'he was buried'.
- 41 Literally 'a ship'. Perhaps the reference is to the title of a book such as the *Saḥīnat al-naḥā* of Aḥmad Zarūq al-Fāsī (d. 1493).
- 42 Lit. 'account of the Prophet on the day of his son (*yawma waladihi*, but read *mawlidihī*—'his birthday')'. What is probably meant here is some *mawlid* text.

(*şintalī*), a *surkē* and stirrups;⁴³ /f. 11v/ the third [received] the document of prophecy⁴⁴ and the turban of the Messenger of God—may God bless him and grant him peace—and a pebble rosary [containing] thirty-three [beads]; and [to] the third Ghēmin Dūdū he bequeathed the sword of the Prophet and the Qurʾān of the Prophet in four volumes. And the third [*sic*] was Sīdi Farī and he inherited the *qalansuwa* of the Prophet and the staff and the balance of the earth (*mīzān al-ard*). On the day of the *mawlid* Muḥammad Runfā came to the house of Sīdi Farī and he read to him the document of the Prophet concerning his kin in the presence of the Sultan of the Muslims. Next, the sultan came to [Sīdi Farī] for eulogy of the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him peace. He is eulogised in his presence until the present day. Then °Abd al-Karīm departed and left his three sons, Ḥantārī, Aḥmad Ghēmin Dūdū and °Isā Sīdi Farī and went to Damascus⁴⁵ until he completed the mission (*?irsāl*) of the Prophet and he died in Damascus. As for Muḥammad Runfā, his mother was Fātīmā [*sic*]. He sat in his kingdom for 37 years.

[19] Then °Abd Allāh. His mother was Awwā. He sat in his kingdom for 12 years.

[20] Then Muḥammad Kī-Sūkē /f. 12v/. His mother was Lāmīs Tamajīkanna. He sat in his kingdom for 58 years.

[21] Then Ya°qūbu. His mother was Tūnasu Takiyāsu. He sat in his kingdom for four months and twenty days.

[22] Then Dāwūdu Bā. His mother's name was Amīna. He sat in his kingdom for forty days.

[23] Then Abū Bakar Akkadu. His mother was Awwā ta Bābārī. He sat in his kingdom for 7 years.

[24] Then Muḥammad Shēshē. His mother was °Ā°isha. He sat in

43 Text: [Hausa] *şintalī surkē da likkāfū*. For *surkē*, Priscilla Starratt has suggested reading *sirdi*—‘saddle’.

44 Text: *waraqat al-nubuwwa*, but we should read *waraqat al-nabī*—‘the document of the Prophet’ as the phrase occurs below. The reference is no doubt intended to be to a document allegedly given to the ancestors of °Abd al-Karīm by the Prophet establishing sharifian ancestry. ‘Sīdi Farī’ is now the title of a Kano office and its holder claims descent from the Prophet through al-Maghīlī.

45 Or Syria—*al-Shām*.

- his kingdom for four months and twenty days.
- [25] Then Muḥammad Babbā Zāki. His mother was Ḥafṣa. He sat /f. 13r/ in his kingdom for 38 years.
- [26] Then Muḥammad. His mother was Kursū. He sat in his kingdom for 5 years.
- [27] Then Alwalī Uktubī. His mother was Awwa ta Dan Būtālē. He sat in his kingdom for 16 years.
- [28] Then Alḥajī. His mother was Nāsakas. He sat in his kingdom for 10 years and one month and twenty days and he was driven out and entered the town of Zak Zak.
- [29] Then Shēkaraw. His mother was Nāribū daughter of Zāriya. He sat in his kingdom for 1 year and seven months and was driven out and entered the town of /f. 13v/ Zāriyā.
- [30] Then Sūyākī. His mother was Fāṭima. He sat in his kingdom for 1 year and seven months and was driven out and entered the town of Zāriyā.
- [31] Then Sūyākī.⁴⁶ His mother was Fāṭima. He sat in his kingdom for 6 years and one day.
- [32] Then Muḥammad Kukunā. His mother was Raḥma. He sat in his kingdom for 7 years and twenty days and was driven out and entered the town of Zak Zak. He was caught up with (?) and spent four nights and entered his house.
- [33] Then Bāwa. His mother was Lāmīs. He sat in his kingdom for 11 years /f. 14r/ and twenty days.
- [34] Then Muḥammad Dādīn Allāh. His mother was Yāyin Gharī. He sat in his kingdom for 30 years and eight months and twenty days.
- [35] Then Muḥammad Shārīfa. His mother was Maryama. He sat in his kingdom for 30 years.
- [36] Then Muḥammad Kunbāri. His mother was Dūkī. He sat in his kingdom for 3 years.
- [37] Then Kuwābē. His mother was Zaynaba. He sat in his kingdom for 9 years and nine months.
- [38] Then Yāji. His mother was Maryama. He sat in his kingdom for 15 /f. 14v/ years and eleven months.
- [39] Then Babbā Zākī. His mother was Zaynaba. His mother was

46 This was apparently a restoration. According to KC it was Muḥammad Kukuna who was driven out to make way for Sūyākī and later restored.

the daughter of Dūna. He sat in his kingdom for 8 years and eleven months.

- [40] Then Dawūda Abūsama. His mother was Bāwiyā. He sat in his kingdom for 5 years.
- [41] Then Alwalī inherited it. Their mother—that is to say Dāwūda’s and Alwalī’s—was the same woman. Between Muḥammad Runfā and Alwalī are 348 years. Also Alwalī is the full brother of Dāwūda. He sat in his kingdom for 27 years /f. 15r/. And the army of the Falātīn drove him out and he went to the land of his brothers, the sultan of Ranū and assembled the sultans of his day⁴⁷ to be his helpers. And he was driven from this town and he went to Zak Zak and he sat [there] for 1 year and seven months and returned to seek [control of] his abode (i.e. kingdom), and the Falātīn killed him in the land of the unbelievers called Burunburun⁴⁸ in the month of Dhū ’l-qa’da, on the 16th of it, on a Thursday. And God knows best what came after that of like matters.
- [42] Also Sulaymān al-Falātī. His mother was Dāda. He sat in his kingdom 12 years and nine months and twenty-seven days in Shawwāl. He listened to the account [of the Prophet’s life?] ⁴⁹ on Fridays.
- [43] Dābu. His mother was Ḥalīma. He sat in his kingdom for 26 years and forty days and three days.
- [44] °Uthmān son of Dābu. His mother was Shēkara. He sat in his kingdom for 10 years.
- Ended.

MS Paden 399

This is written on two sides of a single folio; with 18 lines on the recto side and 20 lines on the verso. Rulers are not numbered and

47 Ar.: *salāṭīn ghuzamānihi* [sic].

48 Burumburum is situated about 45 miles south-south-east of Kano and 70 miles from Zaria.

49 This probably to be connected with the account of °Abd al-Karīm’s son Ḥantārī above who had the account of the Prophet’s birthday.

therefore sequential numbers have been added within square brackets in the English translation. There is almost no vocalization; hence non-Arabic names have been written in their consonantal skeletons, except for the mothers of rulers 6 and 12 whose names are fully vocalized in the original.

كتاب تعرف الزمان : اصل * كنوا بغواد امه قونس / سبع وسبعين
سنة * وروث امه الساحو ثلاثين سنة * / عجماسو امه يانس اربعين
سنة * نوت دغوت امهما / منساكن احدى سنة * طاركي امه ينكما
سنين سنة / * بغبي امه منتارس اثنا سنة * غوغو امه منساد /
خمس وخمسين سنة * شكروا امه اوناك سبع سنة / * رد امه
كَمِيمًا سبع سنة * ياج امه معنرك / عشرين سنة * بقي امه كمنرك
خمس سنة * كنجي جي / امه ياكواو اثنا وعشرين سنة * الفقيه
عمر امه يَتَارَ اثنا وعشر سنة * داوود امه مندار سبع وعشرين سنة /
* عبد الله امه تكدا خمس وعشرين سنة * يعقوب امه تصفو عشر
سنة * محمد رنفا امه فادم سبع وثلا / ثين سنة * عبد الله امه اوتى
عشر سنة * محمد / كيسوكى امه لاميس تمجيكن ثمانى وخمسين
/ سنة * يعقوب امه تونس تكياس اربع اشهر و / وعشرين يوما *
داوود اب اسما امه امينة اربعين / يوما * بوكر كد امه اوتياينبار سبع

سنة / ٢ / محمد ششرى امه عائشة اربع اشهر وعشرين يوما * /
 محمد زاكي امه حفصة ثمانى وثلاثين سنة * محمد امه كرس خمس
 سنين * الولي كتنبي امه / داد تبوتالي ست وعشرين سنة * الحج امه
 ناربو بنت / راريا احدى سنة * سويك امه فاطمة ست وستين / يوما
 * محمد ككنا امه غور ثمانى سنة وست / اشهر وسبع وعشرين
 يوما * باو امه لاميس / عشر سنة واحدى عشرين يوما * محمد
 دادي امه يا اوغري سنة ثلاث وثلاثين وثمانى اشهر / وعشرين يوما
 كاملا * شرى امه مريام ثمانية / وعشرون سنة * محمد قم بارى امه
 دوود ثلث^١ / وعشر سنة * قوايى امه رينب^٢ تسع سنة وتسع /
 اشهر * محمد ياج امه مريام تمجنعني وتسعة / عشر سنة * ببا زاك
 امه يدون ثمانية سنة / قيل تسع * داوود امه بويا خمس سنة *
 الولي / سبع وعشرين سنة * سليمان ابن ابهم ثلث^٣ عشر / سنة *
 دابو امه حصليمة^٤ ست وعشرون سنة / وشهرين وتسع يوما *

51 . اي : ثلاث .

52 . اي : زينب ، وقد اخطأ الناسخ .

53 . اي : ثلاث .

54 . كذا في الاصل ولعله اراد : حليلة .

عثمان امه شكر عسر^{٥٥} سنة / * عبد الله امه شكر ثمانية وعشرون *
 بلوا / امه شكر احد وعشر سنة محمد تكرر شهر {انتهى . في ربيع
 الاول في السنة ١٣٣٤ . امين⁵⁶}

Translation

A document for knowing the age.

- [1] The origin of Kano is B-gh-w-ā-d, whose mother was Q-w-n-s,
 77 years.
 [2] W-r-w-th, whose mother was al-Sāhū, 30 years.
 [3] °-j-m-m-āsū, whose mother was Yān-s, 40 years.
 [4] N-w-t D-gh-w-t, whose joint mother was M-n-sāk-n, 1 year.
 [5] Ṭār-kī, whose mother was Y-n-k-mā, 60 years.
 [6] B-gh-y-ā, whose mother was M-n-tār-s, 2 years.
 [7] Ghūghū, whose mother was M-n-sād, 55 years.
 [8] Sh-k-r-ū, whose mother was A-w-nāk, 7 years.
 [9] R-d, whose mother was Kumaymayā, 7 years.
 [10] Yāj, whose mother was M-°-n-r-k, 20 years.
 [11] B-q-y, whose mother was K-m-n-r-k, 5 years.
 [12] K-n-j-ā Jā,⁵⁷ whose mother was Yāk-w-āw, 22 years.
 [13] *Al-faqīh* °Umar, whose mother was Yatāra, 12 years.
 [14] Dāwūd, whose mother was M-n-dār, 27 years.
 [15] °Abd Allāh, whose mother was T-k-dā, 25 years.
 [16] Ya°qūb, whose mother was T-ṣ-fū, 10 years.
 [17] Muḥammad R-n-fā, whose mother was Fād-m, 37 years.
 [18] °Abd Allāh, whose mother was A-w-tā, 10 years.
 [19] Muḥammad K-y-s-w-kā,⁵⁸ whose mother was Lāmīs T-m-jīk-n,
 58 years.

55 اي: عشر .

56 ما بين القوسين { } في الهامش .

57 The two *alif maqṣūras* 'ā' are no doubt to be read with the *imāla* as 'ē', hence Kanajējē.

58 Or with *imāla* on the second and third long vowels, K-y-s-ō-kē, i.e. Kīsōkē.

- [20] Ya°qūb, whose mother was Tūn-s T-k-yās, four months and twenty days.
- [21] Dāwūd A-b A-s-mā, whose mother was Amīna, forty days.
- [22] Būkar K-d, whose mother was A-w-t-yāy-n-bār, 7 years.
- [23] Muḥammad Sh-sh-rā,⁵⁹ whose mother was °Ā°isha, four months and twenty days.
- [24] Muḥammad Zākī, whose mother was Ḥaḥṣa, 38 years.
- [25] Muḥammad, whose mother was K-r-s, 5 years.
- [26] Al-Walī K-t-n-bī, whose mother was Dād T-būtālī, 26 years.
- [27] Al-Ḥajj whose mother was Nār-bū bint Rār-yā,⁶⁰ 1 year.
- [28] Sūyāk, whose mother was Faṭīma, sixty-six days.
- [29] Muḥammad K-k-nā, whose mother was Gh-w-r, 8 years and six months and seventeen days.
- [30] Bāw, whose mother was Lāmīs, 10 years and twenty-one days.
- [31] Muḥammad Dādī, whose mother was Yā A-w-gh-rī, 33 years and eight months and twenty days altogether.
- [32] Sh-rā,⁶¹ whose mother was Maryām, 28 years.
- [33] Muḥammad Q-m Bārī, whose mother was D-w-w-d, 13 years.
- [34] Q-wābā,⁶² whose mother was Zaynab,⁶³ 9 years and nine months.
- [35] Muḥammad Yāj, whose mother was Maryām T-m-j-n-°-nī, 19 years.
- [36] B-bā Zāk, whose mother was Y-d-w-n, 8 years, and it is said 9.
- [37] Dāwūd, whose mother was B-w-yā, 5 years.
- [38] Al-Walī, 27 years.
- [39] Sulaymān b. Ab-h-m, 13 years.
- [40] Dābū, whose mother was Ḥalīma,⁶⁴ 26 years and two months and nine days.
- [41] °Uthmān, whose mother was Sh-k-r, 10 years.

59 Or with the *imāla*, Sh-sh-rē.

60 No doubt a copyist's error for 'Zāriyā'.

61 Or with the *imāla*, Sh-rē.

62 Or with the *imāla*, Q-wābē.

63 In the text: Raynab, an obvious scribal error.

64 Text: Ḥ-ṣ-līma.

[42] °Abd Allāh, whose mother was Sh-k-r, 28.

[43] B-l-ū, whose mother was Sh-k-r, 11 years

[44] Muḥammad Tukur, one month.

{Ended. In Rabī^c I, 1334. Amen.}⁶⁵

*Pre-1807 Chronicle Portion of the Taqyīd al-akhbār of qāḍī
Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ (1863/4) [MS Jos, 97]*

وقد وجدنا في تواريخهم القديمة مما لا يكاد يتفق عليه المؤرخون من
اسماء ملوكهم و سن كل واحد منهم في السلطنة من زمن بغود وهو
اولهم الى زمن رنفا وهو الذي عاصر المغيلي ونشأ الاسلام في هذه
الارض زمانه بمجيء عبد الكريم المغيلي التلمساني اليهم واخلف فيهم
ثلاث اولاد محمد حنتار واحمد ميغيم وعيسى سيد فر وهذه الذرية
باقية الى اليوم وصار الملقب بسيد فر كبير الشرفاء في بلدنا ونقلنا في
التواريخ القدينة ان المغيلي جاء بالتمر وزرعه في هذه الارض خاصة
فنبت لينتفع به قومه وقيل بين رنفا الذي جاء الاسلام في زمانه ببركة
المغيلي والولي الذي ظهر الشيخ عثمان نور الزمان وبركة الاوان في
زمانه ثمان واربعين وثلاث مائة سنة وينبغي ان نأتي باسماءهم

65 Written in the margin in another hand. Rabī^c I 1334 corresponds to 7 January-5 February 1916.

Translation

[f. 16r] We found in their ancient chronicles, which historians can scarcely agree upon, the names of their kings and the years each one spent in power from the time of Baghawda, who was the first of them, to the time of Runfā, who was a contemporary of al-Maghīlī and in whose time Islam spread in this land through the coming of °Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī al-Tilimsānī⁶⁶ to them. He left behind with them three sons: Muḥammad Ḥanatāri, Aḥmad Mai Ghīmi and °Isā Sīdi Fari. Their descendants are still in existence to this day and the one called Sīdi Fari is the head of the *sharīfs* in our town. We copied from (*naqalnā fī*) the ancient chronicles [the fact that] al-Maghīlī brought dates and planted them in this land on purpose (*?khāṣṣatan*) and it grew, so that his people might benefit from them. It is said that between Runfā in whose time Islam came through the *baraka* of al-Maghīlī and Alwalī, in whose time appeared the light of the age and the blessing of the times Shaykh °Uthmān, is 348 years. It behoves us to give their names:

1. Baghawda. 70 years.
2. Qawnas. 30 years.
3. Ajimāsu. 40 years.
4. Thāraka. 60 years.
5. Abu Ghiji. 2 years.
6. Ghūghuwā. 50 years.
7. Makankira. 51 years.
8. Karawrawā. 80 years.
9. Randā. 30 years.
10. Zamna Ghāwa. 30 years.
11. Kutungharāsa. 7 years.
12. Yāghāji. 5 years.
13. Kanājiji. 22 years.
14. °Umar. 12 years.
15. Nawuta. 10 years.
16. Dāwūdu. 70 years.
17. °Abd Allāh. 15 years.
18. Ya°qūbu. 10 years.

66 I.e. [Muḥammad b.] °Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī.

19. Muḥammad Runfā. 37 years. In his time came al-Maghīlī. They say that he built the royal palace (*dār al-salṭana*) for ‘the blessing of his age’.
20. °Abd Allāh. 11 years.
21. Muḥammad Ghīsūkē. 52 years.
22. Ya°qūb. Four months and twenty days.
23. Dawdu. Forty days.
24. Abū Bakr. 7 years.
25. Muḥammad Shashara. Four months and twenty days.
26. Muḥammad Zāki. 38 years.
27. Muḥammad Ghurzū. 4 years and five months.
28. Alwalī Kutunbi. 26 years.
29. Alḥaji. 1 year.
30. Shēkaraw. 1 year and seven months.
31. Sūyāji. Sixty-six days.
32. Muḥammad Kukuna. 8 years.
33. It is said that after him [came] Bāwa and in his time came the Shaykh °Abd Allāh al-Th.q.t.⁶⁷ 10 years.
34. Muḥammad Dādi. 30 years.
35. Muḥammad Sharīfa. 30 years.
36. Muḥammad Kunbāri. 13 years.
37. Tunghiru, i.e. Kuābi. 9 years and nine months.
38. Yāji. 17 years.
39. Babbā Zāki. 8 years.
40. Dāwda. 5 years.
41. Alwalī. 27 years.

67 A Fulani scholar and teacher, author of *al-°Aṭīyya li’l-mu°fī*. See A.F. Ahmad, ‘Shaykh °Abdullāh Thiqaḥ: the profile of an obscure Fulani erudite of the mid-seventeenth century Hausaland’, *al-Fikr*, iii, 1, 1962, 60-8.